

MALAVIYAJI

[A brief life sketch of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya]

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A WORD

Messrs Vora & Co., Bombay, were good enough to publish my booklet on Gandhiji in 1946. They are now publishing a biographical sketch of Malaviyaji. These two Rishis have contributed their best to the building up of Modern India. Lives of great men are a great inspiration. I am sure a perusal of my booklets will justify that observation. Circumstances permitting, I propose to write similar short sketches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Rabindranath Tagore, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others who rank foremost among the nation builders of India.

Vile Parle, }
June 1948. }

B. J. AKKAD

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

Page No.

1	Introduction	5
2	Education and Parentage	6
3	Public Work	9
4	Poverty of India	10
5	Morley—Minto Reforms	11
6	President of the Lahore Congress	12
7	A member of the Viceregal Council	15
8	Self-government for India	18
9	Montagu—Chelmsford Reforms	21
10	Industrial Development of India	24
11	A Devout Hindu	26
12	Renaissance of Hindu Culture	27
13	Benares Hindu University	29
14	A Prince among Beggars	34
15	A speaker with a silvery tongue	35
16	Advocates simultaneous examinations	37
17	Presides at the Delhi Congress	39
18	Service to the Country	41
19	The Malaviya Family	43
20	A man of firm convictions	44
21	A student of Aryan culture	46
22	Not an Anti-Muslim	49
23	Malaviyaji and Students	51
24	Malaviyaji and Politics	52
25	Malaviyaji's death	52
26	Mahamana Malaviyaji	53
27	The Three Rishis	58

MALAVIYAJI

*"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime"*

We can say without fear of contradiction that Pandit Malaviya stands foremost among the builders of modern India. His selfless services in the cause of India extending to over sixty years have secured for him a unique place in the history of India. A devout Hindu, a profound student of ancient Indian culture, an erudite scholar, an eloquent speaker, a clever debater, an astute lawyer, an aggressive champion of Hindu religion and culture, a man of wide sympathies and catholic heart, Pandit Malaviya is respected by friends and foes alike. His death at the ripe old age of 85 is mourned by all lovers of freedom.

If Tagore has brought international glory to India, Panditji is responsible for the renaissance of Hindu Religion and the preservation of Sanskrit learning and Aryan culture. If Gandhiji has created unprecedented awakening among the masses, Panditji has brought light and learning to the classes. Tagore's Shanti-Niketan, Malaviyaji's Benares Hindu University, and Gandhiji's Ashramas are a place of pilgrimage to all lovers of learning and freedom. These three sons of India have, each in his own way, laid strong and solid foundation for India's freedom.

More than a hundred years ago a learned and respected family migrated to Allahabad from Malva. Hence the family name Malaviya. Both the father and grand-

father were great scholars. It was in this renowned family that Madan Mohan Malaviya was born at Allahabad on the 25th of December, 1861.

2 EDUCATION AND PARENTAGE

There was no regular school in Allahabad at that time. So, young Malaviya studied at private classes started by individuals. He also attended at a pathshala started by Pandit Hardevji. This pathshala was known as "धर्मज्ञानोपदेश पाठशाला". Here he learnt and recited Sanskrit verses from Gita and other religious books. These Sanskrit verses greatly interested him, and have made an abiding impression upon his life. In fact it has been a valuable treasure of which the Pandit is rightly proud. He says :—

"मुझे कुछ श्लोक और स्तोत्र पिताजीने याद करा दिये थे और कुछ हरदेवजीके पाठशालामें याद हो गये थे । आजतक मेरे मुलधनकी पूंजी वही है "

When Pandit Malaviya was eight, the ceremony of Sacred Thread was performed and his father taught him Gayatri Mantra. His father Pandit Vrajnathji was very fond of Sanskrit and used to relate stories from Mahabharat and Ramayana. He was goodlooking and had a sweetness and grace in his speech, which attracted a large audience. Vrajnath's father was a great scholar of Sanskrit and a devotee of Shri Krishna. He had an idol of Krishna which was black in colour and was two feet high. He worshiped this idol every day.

Young Malaviya's mother Shrimati Munadeviji belonged to a noble family and had a kind heart. She bestowed the love of a mother to the children of the street, with the result that all children were attracted to

her. She looked after the affairs of the house and was a devoted and affectionate wife. Vrajnathji kept indifferent health in the latter part of his life. Munadevijji served him faithfully during this long period of illness.

His grandfather Pandit Gadadhar was also a great scholar of Sanskrit. He translated well-known dramas like *Veni Sanhar*, *Mrichhakatik* and others. Pandit Malaviya had great respect for him and mourned his loss, in a poem, which says:—

हाय गदाधर तत्त्वधर मालवीय कुलहेतु ।
इतने थोड़े समयमें, प्रान त्यजो कहि हेतु ॥

Malaviyaji makes a special mention of the book “*इतिहास समुच्चय*” which contained 32 lessons from *Mahabharata*. This book greatly interested the young Pandit.

He was married at the age of 16. He graduated himself in 1884 and began his career as a journalist. He accepted the editorship of ‘*Hindustani*,’ a daily Hindi Newspaper at the early age of 25. He also took active part in founding the ‘*Hindu Samaj*’ of Allahabad. This was a Socio-political institution, which brought a great awakening among the people of Allahabad. Young Malaviya devoted a greater part of his time to the advancement of the aim of this Institution. Along with that he continued his studies for Law and took the LL. B. Degree of the Allahabad High Court in 1892.

During his collegiate career Pandit Malaviya appears to have shown signs of future greatness. His professors and principal were greatly impressed by the sincerity and powers of organization that the young Pandit exhibited, while in charge of the different societies of the college.

Young Malaviya was handsome and goodlooking. He was also a good actor. He took the part of शकुन्तला when the drama was played in his college. He acted the part so well that his friends showered their congratulations on him. He acted Portia equally well, when the drama of Merchant of Venice was staged in his college. Pandit Malaviya in his school days was a very mischievous child. In the words of Pandit Ramnaresh Tripathi:—

मालवीयजीके धनिष्ठ मित्रोंके स्मरणसे मालुम हुआ है कि लडकपनमें वे बड़े नटखट थे। सभा-सोसायटी, कसरत कुश्ती, खेल कूद और हँसी-मजाकमें खूब रस लीया करते थे। स्कूलसे घर आते ही कहीं किताब, कहीं जूता, कहीं कपड़े फेंक फाककर खेलने निकल जाते थे और कभी गुलीदंडा, कवी गेंडी और कवी कबड्डी खेलते और लडकोंकी गुटबंदी करते फिरते। कवी दुसरे गुटके लडकोंसे मुकाबला होता तो डटकर लड़ते। हारने और भागनेका नाम तो वे जानते ही न थे।

The young Pandit was also very fond of composing verses in his boyhood. He wrote a comedy called 'Gentleman'. This contained two poems, one of which was 'Fakkadsingh' who was no other than the Pandit himself. The following are some of the interesting lines:—

गरे जूही के हैं गजरे पडा रंगी दुपट्टा तनू ।
भलाका पूछीए धोती तो ढाकेसे मंगाते हैं ॥

कभी हम वारनिश पहनें कभी पंजाबका जोडा ।
हमेशा पास डंडा है, ये फक्कडसिंह गाते हैं ॥

न उसो से हमें लेना न माधोका हमें देना ।
करे पेदा जो खाते हैं व दुखियोंको खिलाने हैं ॥

नहीं डीप्टी बना चाहें न चाहें हम तासित्वारी ।
पडे अलमस्त रहते हैं यूहि हम दिन बिताते हैं ।
नही रहती फिकर किल्पा पे तेल और लकडी ।
मिले तो हलवे छन जावे, नहीं झूरी उडाने हैं ॥

The second poem gives a humorous description of the gentleman of that time. Here are a few lines:—

अहले योरप पूरा जेन्टलमेन कहलाता हैं हम ।
 बोटसे वावू हुमी, मीस्टर कहा जाता हैं हम ॥
 हिन्दुओका खाना पीना हमको कुछ भाता नहीं ।
 वीफ चमचेसे कटे होटलमें जा खाता हैं हम ॥
 कोट और पतल्लन पहने हैट अेक सीर परधरे ।
 इवर्नीगमें वाक करने पार्कको जाता हैं हम ॥

Immediately after graduation the Pandit worked as a teacher in his old school. He soon became a great favourite with the boys who held him in high regard for the many qualities of head and heart that he possessed.

3. PUBLIC WORK

His entry into the legal profession provided him with opportunities of public work for which he was eminently fitted. He began to take active interest in the municipal life of Allahabad and did very useful work as the Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board. He also took up the question of reforming the old Legislative Council, and having it on a more democratic basis. Speaking on this subject at the second session of the Indian National Congress in 1886 Pandit Malaviya said:—"It is not to the great British Government that we need demonstrate the utility, the expediency, the necessity of this great reform. It might have been necessary to support our petition for this boon with such a demonstration were we governed by some despotic monarch, jealous of the duties but ignorant and careless of the rights of subjects, but it is surely unnecessary to say one word in support of such a cause to the British Government or British Nation".

Proceeding further, the Pandit said:—"What is an Englishman without representative institutions? I often wonder as I look round at our English magnates how they have the face to call themselves Englishmen and yet deny us representative institutions.....No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman's Political Bible. How can he falter with his conscience and tax us here, his free and educated fellow subjects, as if we were dumb sheep or cattle?"

This speech of Pandit Malaviya made a profound impression upon the veteran leaders of that time. Mr. Hume, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress said:—"But perhaps the speech that we most enthusiastically received was one made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviaya, a high caste Brahmin whose fair complexion and delicately chiselled features instinct with intellectuality, at once impressed every one and who suddenly jumping on a chair beside the President poured forth a manifestly improper speech with an energy and eloquence that carried everything before him",

4 POVERTY OF INDIA

One of the tragic facts about India is its great poverty in the midst of plenty. India has all the natural resources which a country can have and yet it is a pity that hundreds and thousands of Indians are suffering from want and disease. No true son of India can fail to draw the attention of the administration on this all important problem. With characteristic sincerity and earnestness Pandit Malaviya raised this question at the Congress of 1893 and observed:—"Will they kindly come and see? If they believe in God, and believe they must, they will have

to render an account of their stewardship in this country. Let them come out to this country once in their lives and go from village to village, and town to town and see in what misery the people live. Let them come out and ask the people what the country was, say before the Mutiny. Where are the weavers, where are those men who lived by different industries and manufactures that were sent to England and other countries in large numbers year after year”?

He drew a vivid picture of the wealth of the country before the advent of the British Rule and its continued impoverishment by the British Administration, which adopted measures that killed the indigenous industries of India. He pointed out how India had to depend only on its agriculture. He observed :—“All that is left to the people is to drag out a miserable existence by agricultural operations and make infinitesimal profit out of little trade left to them.” Even in the field of services, the Indians ceased to enjoy the favourable position that they did before. Speaking on the same subject in 1900, he said;—“Gentlemen, if you will go back to the resolutions passed by the Congress during the last fifteen years, you will find that we have persistently and respectfully invited the attention of the Government to the fact that in our humble judgment, guided as we are by our own personal knowledge and experience of the people of this country, the condition of the people is growing poorer and poorer.”

5 MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS

The Reforms in the political set up of India were long overdue. People awakened to consciousness were

naturally anxious to have a share in the Government of India. They wanted responsible government at an early date. In response to this natural desire of the people Lord Morley the then Viceroy of India prepared a memorandum and submitted the same for approval of the British Cabinet. Mr. Morely who was the Secretary of State for India lent his powerful support to the proposals made by Lord Minto. Even though there was opposition from interested quarters, the memorandum of the Viceroy received fairly good support from the Parliament and the Morely-Minto Reforms were announced in 1909. These reforms did not come up to the expectations of Indian leaders, most of whom were rather dissatisfied. All the same, they were not prepared to lose the opportunity. Pandit Malaviya also held the view that the reforms should be accepted. Accordingly he along with other leaders welcomed the scheme as "Marking the beginning of a New Era".

He seconded the following resolution at the twenty third Indian National Congress in December, 1908:—

"This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform Proposals formulated in Lord Minto's despatch have been received throughout the country This Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretaty of State's despatch have been conceived".

6 PRESIDENT OF THE LAHORE CONGRESS 1909

Pandit Malaviya was elected the President of the Indian National Congress for its session held in Lahore,

1909. Even though he received the intimation for the same, only a week before the annual session, he accepted the presidentship, out of regard for that great institution. In his presidential address he dwelt on a variety of subjects pertaining to India, the most important of them being Morley-Minto Reforms. He observed:—"The feature of the reforms which most appealed to the minds of educated Indians was the proposal to appoint Indians to the Executive Council of the Governor General of India and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay and the proposal to create similar councils in the other large provinces of India which were placed under Lieutenant Governors." Referring to the question of franchise, the Pandit was surprised to find that direct representation was granted to Mohomedans, while it was refused to non-Mohomedans. All Muslims who pay an income tax on an income of three thousand rupees and land revenue in the same sum and all Mohomedan graduates of five years' standing have been given the power to vote. The Pandit strongly protested against this partiality shown to the Muslims. He was not sorry that direct representation was given to the Muslims, but he failed to see why the same privilege should not have been conferred upon the non-Muslims. He said. "The point of our complaint is that the franchise has not similarly been extended to the Non-Mohomedan subjects of His Majesty". He emphasized the glaring injustice done to the non-Muslims in the following words:—"A Parsee, Hindu or Christian who may be paying an income-tax on three lacs or land revenue in the sum of three times three lacs a year is not entitled to a vote to which his Mohomedan fellow subject, who pays an income tax only on three thousand a year or land-revenue in the same sum is entitled."

Another objectionable feature of the scheme is the restrictions that have been placed on the choice of electors. According to the proposed regulations, eligibility to a membership of a Provincial council is confined to members of Municipal and District Local Boards. The Pandit points out that it was a novel departure from the practice which obtained for the last seventeen years under the Indian Councils' Act of 1892. Another and a more objectionable feature is the property qualification in the case of candidates for Provincial Councils. The Pandit strongly protested against the qualification, arguing that no such qualification was required even for Members of Parliament in England. He rightly observed:—"The possession of property or an income does not necessarily predict ability, much less character and does not by itself secure to any man the esteem or confidence of his fellow men." The only qualification that entitles a man to represent his brethren in Councils is education and that should be the only standard for democratic institutions.

Another point to which the President referred in his address was the absence of non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council. True, this non-official majority was accepted for the Provincial Council and to that extent, the reforms created satisfaction among Indians. However, Indians were greatly perturbed because the British Cabinet was unwilling to accept this principle for the Central Legislature. The Pandit appealed to Lord Morely himself "to judge how very far they have departed from the liberal spirit of the proposals which he had fashioned with such statesmanlike care and caution." The President also drew the attention of the gathering to the status of Indians in other countries. Referring to the cruel and disgraceful treatment of Indians in Transval

he said, "The indignities which have been heaped upon them, the hardships and the harrassments to which they have been exposed have excited deep feelings of indignation and grief throughout the country." It may be recalled that Gandhiji was then in Transval and was fighting for the honour of Indians there. Pandit Malaviya paid a tribute to the people of South Africa for the courage and determination with which they were carrying on the struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

The partition of Bengal which was then a burning topic of the day could not escape the President's attention. He referred to the widespread discontent and bitterness created by the partition throughout the lengh and breadth of India, and appealed for a reconsideration of this important question. Fortunately for India, the Government of Lord Hardinge reconsidered the question and annulled the much-hated partition. It is, however, an irony of fate that Bengal's partition has been effected by the leaders of India in 1947. The only justification for this unhappy step is the force of events. It may not be too much to hope that history will repeat itself and the two Bengals-the East and the West will again be reunited.

7 A MEMBER OF THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL

The Pandit's services, his ability, his enthusiasm, not to talk of other brilliant qualities, eminently fitted him for a seat in the Viceregal Council. It is, therefore, no wonder that he was elevated to the highest legislature in 1910. He continued to sit in that august body and drew the attention of the Government on many grievances of the public. One of the most powerful grievances of the

people was with regard to the press. The public press is a powerful weapon in the hands of the people to ventilate their grievances against the Government. The bureaucracy, however, tried its best to suppress the freedom of the press by passing measures that put a great check to the expression of free opinion. Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Basu strenuously opposed the Press Act. In doing so, the Pandit observed, "when the press is left at the mercy of the Local Government, by merely issuing a notice to demand a security, I submit, the freedom with which newspapers have expressed their criticism of the acts and omissions of Government is very much likely to suffer." That the Pandit was justified in protesting against the Press Act, is more than borne out by the procedure adopted by some of the Provincial Governments against some of the spirited journals and newspapers.

Another measure which engaged the Pandit's attention was the Seditious Meetings Act. This act attempted to prohibit meetings which were called to protest against measures which the people did not like. The Government thought that in criticising the actions and speeches of Government Members, people were committing a great offence and they tried to put a stop to such free expression of public opinion by prohibiting meetings which in their opinion would encourage sedition. In 1910, the Hon. Mr. Jenkins introduced a bill to provide for the continuance of the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907. The Honourable Pandit made a memorable speech while protesting against such an invidious measure. In the course of his remarks he observed "Not only has no necessity been shown for the measure before us, but there is also the fear, as my friend, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale has pointed out that a repressive measure may itself, by being

abused in the working, lead to promoting the evil, which it has intended to cure. The Seditious Meetings Act has already given illustrations of the truth of the old adage that the sight to do ill deeds often makes ill deeds done. He illustrated his remarks by alluding to the suppression by authorities of Eastern Bengal, of the meeting called for helping the depressed classes. He pointed out how the abuse of the provisions by the authorities has unnecessarily caused irritation in public mind and has led to the embitterment of the feelings of the people.

The Pandit took active interest in the Educational problems of the country. It is no surprise, therefore, that he warmly supported the late Mr. Gokhale's bill for making Primary Education free and compulsory. He said "Every civilized country has found that compulsion is the only means by which universal education can be secured. No country has succeeded without it, and we cannot expect to succeed without it."

Indentured Labour was another important subject against which the Pandit raised his powerful voice. In the words of the late Mr. Gokhale this was a monstrous and inequitable system. The Pandit in his own forceful and emphatic language characterised it as 'an unmitigated evil' and pleaded for its immediate abolition. He said: "European labour is employed all over the world, but nowhere are such degrading restrictions attached to it as those that attach to Indian Labour". He ended his great speech with the following moving appeal: "The system has worked enough moral havoc during 75 years. We cannot think, my lord, without intense pain and humiliation of the blasted lives of its victims, of the anguish of soul to which our numerous brothers and sisters have

been subjected by this system. It is high time that this should be abolished". Fortunately for India, the appeal had the desired effect and the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India announced that the system would be stopped at once.

8. SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

The spread of education and contact with world forces could not but produce corresponding reaction in India and people became more and more insistent on their demand for self-government for India. The Morley-Minto reforms were found inadequate and people demanded greater rights, more privileges and an increasing share in the administration of the country. The Indian National Congress at its session of 1914 and 1915 reiterated its demand for self-government more emphatically. This was followed by what is known as the memorandum of the Nineteen. Pandit Malaviya was one of those nineteen members who sent a memorandum to England asking for the introduction of self-government at an early date. The outbreak of the European war, India's unstinted support to the Allies with men, money and ammunition, the generous utterances of British Statesmen on the great ideals of freedom and self-determination, all these brought about a great revolution in the minds of men. No wonder people began to clamour for freedom and independence. These sentiments found expression in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. Leaders of India carried on a regular propaganda emphasising to the people the full significance of their demand. The Hon. Pandit himself went on a tour round the country expounding the demand of the Congress. Mrs. Besant also by her writings and speeches carried on a

vigorous propaganda for Home Rule for India. Thus there was a great awakening in India. At this psychological moment the Indian Government chose to put a restriction on the movements of Mrs. Besant, and passed orders for her internment in Madras. This produced a great stir throughout the length and breadth of India and gave an added impetus to the movement for freedom.

The general belief in the country was that the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues was part of a deliberate policy of repression, in pursuance of a secret circular which was sent round by the Government of India. Pandit Malaviya expressed his strong disapproval of the action of the Government in a speech he delivered at Allahabad in August 1917. In the course of his remarks the Pandit observed:—

“But I have no doubt in my mind that such a circular was issued and that several provincial Governments based upon it the policy of repression which they have followed. It is also my conviction that the order of internment passed against Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia was passed in pursuance of that policy. I do not say that Mrs. Besant never wrote anything which was open to legal objection nor do I say that she did. What I say is that if she infringed the law in speaking or writing, and if the infringement was serious enough to deserve action being taken upon it, she should have been proceeded against according to the ordinary law of the land. I consider that in proceeding as the Madras Government did against her and her two colleagues, they had abused the power which they possessed under the Defence of India Act. The Defence of India Act was clearly meant to be used against the

enemies of the Government. I do not believe and Indians generally do not believe that Mrs. Besant is an enemy of the British Government. It is in this view that a feeling of great injustice is rankling in the public mind and it will continue to do so until she and her colleagues are released."

Though the Pandit differed from Mrs. Besant in some of her views and methods, he had high regard and admiration for her and he thought he could not remain silent when the whole country demanded the release of the interneés. He wrote a long letter to the 'Leader' of Allahabad on the 15th of June 1917, which created great impression upon the public. In the course of his letter he said:—"As for Mrs. Annie Besant, I have had some very sharp differences with her in the past, but I admire her and feel grateful to her for the splendid manner in which she has been sacrificing herself at her age in the cause of Indian progress and reform. I hope she will be allowed to go on with her work. If she is exposed to suffering in that cause, thousands of Indians, who have not been able to see eye to eye with her in all things, will think it their duty to follow her.

There is a wide-spread feeling that such serious pronouncements on so important a subject have not been made by the heads of three Provincial Governments without the knowledge and approval of the Government of India. But I find it difficult to believe that Lord Chelmsford and his honourable colleagues who constitute the Government of India, have sanctioned or will sanction a campaign against lawful constitutional agitation for reforms. Be that as it may, the matter is so important that I think it my duty to publicly draw their attention

to the far-reaching evils involved in any attempt to repress constitutional agitation and I do so in the earnest hope that the matter will receive the full measure of consideration which it deserves."

The Government however, was not in a mood to care for public protests. It went on with its repressive policy. Undaunted by this, the Pandit continued to urge for more reforms. There was the scheme prepared jointly by the Congress and the League and all leaders supported this scheme. Speaking at the Congress session in December, 1917, the Pandit observed :- "The Congress-League Scheme is a natural and rational advance upon the lines under which Political institutions have been working so far in this country. It is, therefore, no good telling us that our Scheme does not fit in with the schemes formulated in other countries. The Congress-League Scheme is suitable to the conditions in India."

9. MONTAGUE-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

The Government saw that it was absolutely essential that some measure of Reforms should be granted to India. Accordingly in July 1918 a joint report by the Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu and H.E. Lord Chelmsford was published. The report had as usual, a mixed reception. Some of the leaders thought the reforms proposed were inadequate and so, the report should be rejected. There were others who demanded certain modifications. Pandit Malaviya expressed his views in a lengthy memorandum which was widely circulated in the country. In the course of his remarks he observed :—"There is much in the proposals that is liberal and that will mean a real and beneficial change in the right direction which we must welcome and be grateful for; but there are also grave deficiencies

which must be made up before the reforms can be adequate to the requirements of the country".

Among the modifications suggested by him, the more important are as under :—

(a) A definite assurance should be given that it is intended that full responsible government shall be established in India within a period not exceeding 20 years.

(b) It should be provided that half the number of members of the Executive Council of the Government of India shall be Indians.

(c) India should be given the same measure of fiscal autonomy which the self-governing dominions of the Empire will enjoy.

(d) It should be provided that the persons who are to be appointed ministers of the reconstituted councils shall be those who command the confidence of the majority of the elected members.

(e) There should be no reserved subjects.

There was a serious difference of opinion in the country with regard to these Reforms proposals. A special session of the Indian National Congress was convened in Bombay in September 1918 to discuss the Proposals. As it was feared that the special session would reject the proposals, the moderate element in the country did not attend the Congress. Among the ex-presidents, Pandit Malaviya was the solitary exception to attend the session. He tried his best to tone down the resolution of the Congress, though the Congress pronounced the scheme as disappointing and unsatisfactory.

The Moderates who abstained from attending the special session of the Congress resolved to have a conference of their own. This Conference of the Moderates welcomed the scheme as a definite step in advance, and made certain constructive suggestions, similar to those adopted by the Congress.

Pandit Malaviya was elected President of the Delhi session of the Congress. In the course of his address he regretted that the Moderates should have chosen to be away from the Congress, urged them to come back and present a united front to the Government. He said:—
“The path for united action is clear; that is also the path of duty.”

In the course of his address he dwelt on the necessity of further reforms, as opportunity for autonomous development had been granted to countries like Russia, Austria Hungary, Syria, Messopotamia, and others. He said:—
“We are happy to find that Governments of Britain and France have already decided to give effect to these proposals in the case of Syria and Messopotamia. This has strengthened our hope that they will be extended to India also. Standing in this ancient capital of India, both of Hindu and Mohomedan period, it fills me, my countrymen and countrywomen, with inexpressible sorrow and shame to think that we, descendants of Hindus who ruled for four thousand years in this extensive empire and the descendants of Muslims who ruled here for several hundred years should have so far fallen from our ancient state that we should have to argue our capacity of even a limited measure of autonomy and self rule.”
He concluded his address with an appeal to the British people to satisfy the reasonable demands of the Indian

People, and said, 'I have done. At the conclusion of their very able and elaborate report, Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford invited 'reasoned criticism' of their proposals. I have attempted to offer some so that that they may reconsider their opinions regarding the conditions of the problem and the recommendations which they have based upon these opinions. I hope also that the other Members of His Majesty's Government, and generally other Englishmen who will have to deal with those recommendations may find this criticism of some help. We are entitled to expect that they will examine the conditions of the problem in the light of the well ascertained facts and the testimony of history and above all with a broad minded sympathy which India hopes she has deserved of England.'

10 THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

Ever since the advent of the East India Company, the administrators had been indifferent to the growth of Industries. This was responsible for the increasing poverty of India. In the past, India was a highly manufacturing country and produced articles that were a wonder of the world. History shows that Babylon traded with India in 3000 B.C. Again Egyptian Mummies dating from 2000 B.C. have been found wrapped in the finest muslins of India. The Imperial Gazette of India observes, 'The muslins of Dacca were known to the Greeks under the name of *Gangitaka*. Thus it may be safely concluded that in India the arts of cotton spinning and cotton weaving were in a high state of proficiency two thousand years ago.' Again Prof. Weber bears testimony to the skill of Indians in the following words: 'The skill of

Indians in the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals and precious stones, the preparation of essences and in all manners of Technical arts, has from early times enjoyed a world wide celebrity.' The same can be said about Iron Manufactures. Prof. Wilson says, 'The Hindus have the art of smelting iron, of welding it and of making steel, and have had these arts from time immemorial.' According to Mr. Ranade, 'The Iron Industry not only supplied all local wants, but it also enabled India to export its finished products to foreign countries. The quality of the material turned out had also a world wide fame.'

It was absolutely essential that attention should be paid to reviving the industries of India. Leaders of Indian public opinion demanded that Government should adopt measures for the expansion and growth of India's Industries. In response to this, the Government of India appointed the Indian Industrial Commission, in 1916, with Sir Thomas Holland as President. Fortunately for India, Pandit Malaviya was one of the Members of the Commission. He availed himself of the opportunity and prepared an interesting and illuminating memorandum dealing with the past industrial glory of India, and suggesting ways and means for reviving Indian industries, for adoption by the Government of India. Some of the valuable recommendations made by the Pandit are:—

(1) That steps should be immediately taken for developing the teachings of Science and Technology, in our existing Universities and other Collegiate institutions, (a) by strengthening their staff and equipment, and (b) by awarding a sufficiently large number of Scholarships to encourage the study of Science and Technology at our Schools, Colleges and Universities.

(2) That an Imperial polyclinic Institute should be established in the country for imparting the highest instruction in training and Technology, and

(3) That the provision of Scholarships for study in foreign countries should be largely increased to enable distinguished Indian graduates to finish their education in the best of foreign institutions.

He also suggested that the Imperial Industrial and the Indian Chemical Services should be manned by Indians. This would lessen the cost of maintaining such institutions. He urged that in the matter of Indian Industries, it is the Indian interest that should be the first concern of the Government. He concluded his reports by saying: If measures for the Industrial development of India are taken in this spirit, India will become prosperous and strong and England more prosperous and stronger.'

11. A DEVOUT HINDU

It was not merely economic deterioration that worried the well-wishers of India. The spiritual deterioration was not less deplorable. The Pandit's classic soul revolted against this. If the Pandit was a patriot, he was also well-versed in the ancient lores of India. And he was sorry that the Indian people who had a glorious past were fast losing their spiritual greatness. The Pandit was a devout Hindu, proud of the ancient Hindu traditions. He believed that the Vedas and other religious books of the Aryans, were a treasure and a rich legacy bequeathed to the people of India. He was a profound scholar of Sanskrit and a student of the Bhagawad Gita. The writer had the good fortune to hear the Pandit on the banks of the Tapti in the early days of the Non-Coopera-

tion movement. He was returning from Bardoli where he was invited to attend an important meeting of the Congress Working Committee. A born orator, the Pandit captivated the minds of the hearers and held the audience spell bound by his silvery speech. Every remark of his was punctuated with a verse from the Bhagwad Gita, which the Pandit recited with an ease and a sweetness all his own.

The Pandit felt that the education as it was imparted was defective in as much as there was no provision for religious education. He believed that every Indian should have a knowledge of the Hindu religion, which was famous for its classical literature and which taught man the manifold duties that he had to discharge. Moreover, the Educational Institutions did not give sufficient encouragement to Scientific and Industrial research. He was, therefore, trying for the establishment of a Central Institution, which would foster the study of the ancient Hindu religion, and would also afford facilities for the advancement of science and technology.

12 RENAISSANCE OF HINDU CULTURE

The Pandit's main purpose in life has been advancement and promotion of Hindu Culture. He felt deeply aggrieved to find young men and women of India completely ignorant about the glories of Hindu Religion. He, therefore, did his best to promote the ideas of religion by writings and speeches. He himself wrote a book "हिन्दुधर्मोपदेश" in which the greatness of ancient Hindu culture and its civilization is clearly brought out. He wants every Hindu to worship Vishnu and Shiva. He writes :—

स्मर्तव्यः सततं विष्णुः सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितः ।
एक एवाद्वितीयो यः शोकपापहरः ॥

In his opinion the Sikhs, the Jains, the Arya Samajists all are Sanatani Hindus and all are equal. Students of Hindu religion will be greatly profited by reading this book.

His respect for Hindu religion was so great that even at the advanced age of 80, he used to attend the "गीताप्रवचन" every day. He had great regard for the teachings of "भगवद्गीता" whose verses he would recite very often. The Gita was a treasure and he wanted every student of the Benares Hindu University to learn the Gita. He passed orders that attendance on the part of the students of the University to the "गीताप्रवचन" should be compulsory.

He wanted Hindus to unite and was anxious to see that Hindus in villages and cities would start Hindu Organizations with the object of spreading true ideas of Hinduism. One day he observed to Pandit Ramnaresh Tripathi as under :—"मैं चाहता हूँ के भारतके गांव गांव में हिन्दुसभा स्थापित हो और हिन्दुओंका जोरदार संगठन हो." He had great hopes, of Savarkar and Aney but they had their limitations. He hoped India would produce more men of that type who would devote their life towards the uplift of the Hindus. He expressed it so emphatically in the following words:—"हिन्दु जाति में दो चार भी ऐसे पुरुष होते जो दृष्टपृष्ट होते, विद्वान् और संसारकी राजनीतिसे सुपरिचित होते और कमर कसकर हिन्दु जातिकी उन्नतिके लिए अपना जीवन लगा देते तो अभी इस जाति में खड़े होनेकी ताकात बहुत है"

It must, however, be remembered that his Hinduism was not narrow. He was a man with a broad culture therefore, his idea of Hinduism was a religion that would embrace all—the Sikhs, the Jains and everybody who chose to drink from that fountain of knowledge.

Even the untouchables were to be included. In fact he had started an organization that would give "मंत्रदीक्षा" and bring back to the Hindu fold hundreds and thousands of low class and other Hindus who had been converted to Christianity by the Christian Missionaries. Every year he himself would give "मंत्रदीक्षा" to hundreds of persons of all classes, Brahmins, Chandals etc. and bring them back to Hinduism. He did this even at the risk of his life. Once a goonda attacked him with a knife, but fortunately his attempt did not succeed. It may also be mentioned that he was not against the untouchables being allowed to enter the temples. He observed:—

“मैं धर्मग्रंथोंके अध्ययनके अनुसार कहता हूँ के इनको भी देवदर्शन मिलना चाहिए”

According to Pandit Ramnaresh Tripathi, Malaviyaji is a great protagonist of Hindu culture and has devoted his whole life to the preservation of Hindu tradition, Hindu culture and Hindu civilization.

13 BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

It was with that object in view that Pandit Malaviya decided to start the Benares Hindu University. He was long thinking of this but a formal announcement was made in the Congress Pandal in 1906. The Pandit issued a pamphlet in the course of which he said:—“The advance made in Europe and America during the last three quarters of a century in Physics and Chemistry and in their application to the production of wealth, more specially to steam and electricity as aids to manufacturing industries and as means of locomotion, has thrown India far behind the countries in which experimental successes are studied and made serviceable to social well-being”. This

very clearly shows that the Pandit had given well-deserved prominence to secular, more particularly to scientific and industrial studies.

The objects of the University are as under:—

- (1) To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Sanskrit Literature generally as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilization of India.
- (2) to promote learning and research generally in arts and sciences in all branches.
- (3) To advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge, combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country; and
- (4) to promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.

Provision was made to impart instruction in all branches of study, but particular importance was attached to the study of Sanskrit, and the preservation of Sanskrit literature and religion. In this connection it may be mentioned that this importance was recognised as early as 1791, when Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the then Resident of Benares proposed to the Governor General—"That a certain portion of the surplus revenue of the province or Zamindari of Bengal should be set apart for the purpose of a Hindu college or academy for the preservation of the Sanskrit Literature and Religion of that Nation, as this is the centre of their faith and the common resort of their tribes"

The pamphlet observes-- 'The Vedas have more than antiquarian value for Hindus. They are the primary source of their religion. And it is a matter of reproach to the Hindus that while excellent provision is made for the study and elucidation of the Vedas in Germany and America, there is not one single first rate institution in this country for the proper study of these sacred books. An effort will be made to remove this reproach by establishing a good Vedic College at this University.'

The question as to the language in which instruction was to be imparted in the different colleges received great attention. It was first proposed that instruction should be imparted through one of the Modern Indian Languages. That language should be Hindi, as it was most widely understood in the country. But there were other difficulties. Firstly there was not a sufficient number of Text Books. Secondly as the University will attract students from the different provinces of India, having different mother tongues, it will be a great handicap to the students at least in the early beginning. The pamphlet rightly observes: 'It is also recognized that the adoption of one vernacular as the medium of instruction at an University which hopes to draw its alumni from all parts of India will raise several difficulties of a practical character which it would be wise to avoid in the beginning. It was, therefore, decided that instruction should be imparted through English.

NEED FOR SUCH UNIVERSITY

There was no doubt that such a University was long overdue. There were at that time only five Universities in India but they were all mainly examining Universities. A teaching University was a great necessity. In addition

to this, provision must be made for the residence of students coming from distant parts of the country. Again formation of character can be achieved only by a teaching and residential University. The memorandum says:—"Besides, a merely examining University can do little to promote the formation of character, which, it is generally agreed, is even more important for the well-being of the individual and of the community than the cultivation of intellect."

It was again pointed out that the year 1911 was particularly auspicious for the success of such efforts, as the Government of India had expressed their earnest desire to push forward schemes for the advancement of learning by creating a special department of education and by allotting a special grant of Rs. 90 lakhs for the purpose of Education. Moreover, His Majesty the king was to visit India at the end of the year. His visit would be an additional stimulus to all such efforts.

The Indian Government encouraged the movement for the Hindu University. Pandit Malaviya acknowledged his gratitude to the Governor General in no uncertain terms, when he said:—"My Lord, I should be wanting in my duty, if I allowed this occasion to pass without expressing the deep gratitude that we feel towards Your Excellency for the broad-minded sympathy and large-hearted statesmanship with which Your Excellency has encouraged and supported the movement."

While the Bill for the establishment of the University was being considered by the Imperial Legislative Council, objection was raised by certain members that it will be a sectarian University. To this the Pandit replied:—"The University will be a denominational

Institution but not a sectarian one. It will not promote narrow sectarianism but a broad liberation of mind and a religious spirit which will promote brotherly feeling between man and man." The Pandit thought that the influence of religion was ever ennobling and he could not agree with those who were afraid of imparting religious education. He observed:—"I believe, my lord, that where true religious spirit is inculcated, there must be an elevating feeling of humility. And where there is love of God, there will be greater love and less hatred of man and, therefore, I venture to say that if religious instruction will be made compulsory, it will lead to nothing but good, not only for Hindu students, but for other students as well, who will go to the new University".

The Bill became law and the University came into existence in 1916. The courses of study were so fixed that a student of average intelligence may, in twelve years, acquire without excessive strain on his powers, a proficiency in the Sanskrit language and literature and be skilled in some art of producing wealth. It was thus mainly intended for the promotion of scientific, technical and artistic education combined with religious instruction and classical culture, and its aim was to bring the Hindu community under a system of education which would qualify its members for the pursuit of the great aims of life, as laid down in their scriptures; viz., (1) The discharge of religious duties (वर्ग) 2. Attainment of material prosperity (अर्थ) and 3. Enjoyment of lawful pleasure. (काम).

This temple of learning is situated in Benares on the banks of the sacred Ganges. Nearly three thousand students from the different parts of India are studying here

under conditions that are almost ideal. The annual expenses come to about thirteen lacs of rupees while the income is about twelve lacs.

Tourists from different parts of the world come to Benares to see this temple of learning. They all admire this beautiful work of art and congratulate Malaviyaji for his splendid achievement.

14. A PRINCE AMONG BEGGARS

But the colossal work like the University needs superhuman efforts on the part of the organizers. Lakhs of rupees were required for the purpose. And India was fortunate in the fact that in Pandit Malaviya, she got a beggar who could successfully tackle the Princes and the big business magnates. In this respect, the Pandit was a great contrast to the Mahatma. While Gandhiji would make up his crore by twos and threes, and even by annas and pies, Malaviyaji would gather by thousands. His brahmanic greed would not be easily gratified. And he had a knack of getting money. His personality, his sweet reasoning, and above all, the cause for which he begged were all unique, and this 'prince among beggars' collected a large sum for the University before the year was out.

Mr. M. Vishveshvaraiya gives a well deserved tribute to the Pandit in the following eloquent words :—

"The Pandit carried on an intensive campaign to collect funds and build up the University from stage to stage. He approached Princes and Chiefs, waited on high government officials, visited important centres and addressed great gatherings at which he appealed to the patriotism of merchants and zamindars and to the

religious instincts of the Hindus for this purpose. I was present at one such gathering in Calcutta which he addressed in Hindi with great force and eloquence. I believe this was in January 1912 when rich Zamindars, Marwari Merchants and others came forward with promises of large sums, many handing in bundles of currency notes on the spot. The moving eloquence of the Pandit had evidently told on the audience and money literally poured on that occasion."

15 A SPEAKER WITH A SILVERY TONGUE

Few can surpass the learned Pandit in his eloquence and oratory. Words flowing from his lips have a magical effect. If the Pandit is a clever debater, he is also a very sweet speaker and you are sure to fall a victim to his silvery tongue. More than the cause, it was his sweet sonorous voice that has brought him huge funds for the Benares Hindu University. Even when he wants to hit, he is never discourteous, or rough. Speaking on the Budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 23rd of March 1917, he said:—"I mean no disrespect to Your Excellency or your colleagues in the Government of India but I am sorry to say that not you but His Majesty's Secretary of State is the Government of India, because it is an open secret, we all know it to our regret, that every matter of importance relating to the revenues of India must be decided by the Secretary of State for India".

Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore referring to his great oratorical gifts observes:—"I do not think I need refer at any length to his many sided activities or to his great oratorical gifts, though of the latter something interesting might be said, He possesses in eminent degree the

three great powers of the orator to instruct, to move, to delight. The perfect rain of donations that has followed many a public speech of his on behalf of the Benares University, has no doubt to be set down to the marvellous effect on men's minds of his splendid eloquence. I sometimes wonder, whether in these days of crippled finances, Mysore may not secure unto herself an equally good money-dragging orator with my friend, the worthy Pandit. Perhaps the greatest achievement of Pandit Malaviya in the field of practical action has been the foundation of the Benares Hindu University, which will ever stand a public monument to his disinterested labours in the cause of public education in the country. His persuasive skill carried all before him, The result was that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore accepted the Chancellorship of the Benares University."

Sir Sacchidanad Sinha, who came in intimate contact with the learned Pandit speaks very highly of the Pandit's sweetness and suavity. Referring to the session of the Indian National Congress at Allahabad, in 1888, Sir Sinha alludes to the very deep impression made upon him by Surendranath Banerjee, Pherozshah Mehta and Kashinath Trambak Telang, and says:—"Unlike the great orators named above, Pandit Malaviya's speeches seemed to me to combine rare eloquence with remarkable sweetness and suavity. This first impression of mine of the characteristic of Pandit Malaviya, as a public speaker, has since then grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength and living the many years in which he had worked together in the Imperial Legislative Council and outside it, the conviction has steadily grown upon me that though India has produced several unrivalled orators and debators, Pandit Malaviya is unique in

the sense of being the only public speaker, who tries to persuade the audience, not by reason of the power and vehemence of his language but by great tact, wonderful gentleness and extraordinary charm, coupled with the most easy-flowing fluency, which, all combined produce upon the hearer's mind and attention, a soothing sense and at once carry conviction to it."

16. ADVOCATES SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATION

Admission to the Indian Civil Service was a prize every Indian coveted. But there were many difficulties in his way, of which the most important was that the Examination for getting this qualification was held in England. This meant a great hardship to Indian students who will have to incur heavy expenses for studies in England. It was, therefore, urged by Indian leaders that the Examination should be held in India also, so that deserving students can compete and qualify themselves for this honour without great difficulty. A committee was appointed as early as 1860 by the Secretary of State for India to suggest the best means for admitting Indians into the service. They considered the question very carefully and recommended that two examinations should be held, one in England and the other in India, 'both being, as far as practicable, identical in nature and those who compete in both countries being finally classified on one list according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners'. Unfortunately, this report was not acted upon by the Government.

The late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji took up the question in 1867, and carried on agitation in the parliament. In 1886

the Public Service Commission was appointed to consider the question. This commission reported against holding simultaneous examinations inspite of the fact that there was overwhelming evidence in support of the proposal. Further efforts were made by Dadabhai Naoroji in London, and by Mr. Subarao and others in India. Commissions were appointed but nothing was done till 1917.

In september 1917, Pandit Malaviya moved the following resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council:—

“This Council recommends to the Governor-General in council that the Government of India should move the Secretary of State to arrange that the examination for the Indian Civil Service should, henceforth, be held simultaneously in India and in England, successful candidates being classified in the list according to merit.”

The Pandit made out a strong case for holding the examinations in India. He said:— “The result of the examinations being held only in England has been that up to 1910 only 80 Indians had succeeded in entering the service by the door of examinations as against over 2600 Europeans.” Proceeding further, he pointed out how only 10 per cent of the total number of officers were natives of India. In support of his preposition he quoted Mr. Bright who speaking in London in 1878 said that ‘to tell the people of India that they had equal opportunities with Englishmen was akin to telling them that they must be eight feet six inches in height, before they could be admitted to the Civil Service’.

He pointed out that whenever opportunities were given to Indians, they have acquitted themselves creditably. Indians have proved their capacity in high

offices under the British Government and as Dewans of Indian States. Continuing his speech he observed:—"All that we have asked for in this connection from the beginning is not that we should be put on a favoured footing but that we should be put on a footing of equality." Again the finances of the country were adversely affected by the fat salaries that had to be paid to European Members of the Indian Civil Service. If we want cheap and efficient administration, we must employ a larger number of Indians than hitherto. He observed, "A three-fold wrong is inflicted upon us, i.e. depriving us of wealth, work and wisdom, of everything, in short, every thing worth living for, and this beginning will begin to strike at the root of the muddle. The reform of the alteration from European to Indian is the keynote of the whole."

He put the whole question in a nutshell in the following eloquent words:—"And I submit, Sir, that of all the questions relating to constitutional reforms, there is none which is more important, which lies at the root of the problem, more than this question of instituting examinations for admission into the Civil Service simultaneously in India and in England."

17 PRESIDES AT THE DELHI CONGRESS 1918

Pandit Malaviya was elected President of the thirty third National Congress at Delhi in 1918. This was the second time that the Pandit got this unique honour. The country was passing through critical times and was in need of able guidance. No abler choice could have been made by the Country than that of the revered and respected Pandit.

He began his speech by referring to the splendid contribution which India had made to the Great War, in men, money and material. 'India loyally put aside her grievances, buried her differences and her princes and people readily identified themselves with the cause which England had taken up.' He quoted His Majesty who in His Gracious message of September 14, 1914 spoke about 'the prodigal offers of their lives and treasure in the cause of the realm'. The full value of contributions of the princes and people of India cannot be easily calculated, but at a modest estimate, it would come to about three hundred crores.

Proceeding further, the Pandit said, 'Ladies and Gentlemen, the hand of Providence is clearly discernible both in the development of this war and its termination. The World and particularly the European World needed a correction and a change. It had been too much given up to materialism and had been too much estranged from spiritual considerations. It had flouted the principle that righteousness exalteth a Nation. In spite of the vaunted civilization of Europe, some of its nations have been living in a state of international anarchy and their relations to one another and to the outer world turned upon force. They have been dominated by an overwhelming passion for wealth and power and in their mad pursuit of it, have trampled upon the rights and liberties of weaker states and peoples.' A religious Hindu that he is, he had robust faith in the wisdom of Providence. He said, 'It was the evident purpose of Providence that the powerful nations of the World should undergo a moral rebirth' and that this war should establish the principle that right is might. He wanted that all the

people inhabiting this world should have the right of living on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another and quoted President Wilson in support of his statement. He then referred to the promise of Mr. Llyod George that India's necessities would not be forgotten when the peace conference met, expressed his thanks for the appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha as India's representative at the Peace Conference, but pleaded for an elected representative in place of a nominee of Indian Government. Coming to the generous appreciation by the People of England of the help rendered by India to the Allies, he said;— "I am sure we all feel deeply grateful to these our English fellow subjects for their generous appreciation of our contributions to the War. The question now is to what extent is India going to benefit by principles for which she gave her lives and treasure, namely, the principles of justice and liberty, of the right of every nation to live an unmolested life of freedom and to grow according to its God-given nature to manage its own affairs and to mould its own destiny". He asked how far these principles of autonomy and self-determination were to be applied to India. He pleaded for the acceptance of the Congress—League Scheme of 1916, and in doing so, made it clear that India would continue to remain under the British Crown. He said 'Let the British Government give effect to the principle of self-determination in India by accepting the proposals put forward by the representatives of the people of India.'

18. SERVICE TO THE COUNTRY

Whatever the Pandit did, whatever he undertook, his aim was the service of the country. The Pandit stands

foremost among those who have served India continuously for a period of half a century. In the Legislature or outside, India and India alone was his objective. And this service to the country was rendered at great personal sacrifice. His incessant work for the Benares Hindu University meant great financial loss to him. All the same, he voluntarily put up with that, for promoting the cause which he had under-taken. Had he confined his activities to his profession, he would have either amassed a great fortune, or occupied the honoured position of a High Court Judge. But no, his love for the country, his burning patriotism, his desire to uplift India materially and spiritually would not allow that. It is not, therefore, surprising that he worked day and night for India.

His devotion and loyalty to the Indian National Congress were of a type that would command admiration from all. Even when he differed from the views of some of his compatriots, he never attacked the Congress, because, he knew that it was the only organization that would in the long run, be in a position to conduct the administration of the country. He himself had contributed his humble part to the building of this great body and therefore, even though he criticised the Congress, his criticism was moderate and constructive.

Even when he was physically unfit to court the rigours of a jail life, he would not shirk going to jail, if the interests of the country required him to do so. Those who witnessed his able leadership of the procession near Victoria Terminus in Bombay, in those hectic days that followed the Dandi March of Gandhiji, in 1930-31, would not but be struck at his uncompromising stand

against the orders of the Police. It is only such veteran fighters that inspire the people and the country, in times of need.

He went to London to attend the Round Table Conference when he was seventy. He braved the rigors of a bitter winter in England, even though his health was far from satisfactory. It has also to be remembered that the Pandit was an orthodox Hindu, and his religious convictions were of such a type that very often he would have to do his own cooking. Yet all this he bravely put up with, because of his love and devotion to India.

Sir. M. Vishveshvarraiya gives him an eloquent tribute in the following words :—

“The Pandit has waged many a fight in the peoples, cause on the Congress Platform since 1886 and in the Imperial Legislative Council and its successor the Indian Legislative Assembly since 1910. In all political struggles he has been in the forefront of the battle. Till two or three years ago, he kept to the strict and narrow path of constitutional agitation and when last year, the agitation was at its height, and leader after leader was sent to prison including his great friend and compatriot Mahatma Gandhi, he joined the working Committee of the Congress, which was then a proscribed organization. That led to his arrest and subsequent incarceration. To an orthodox Hindu, prison life is particularly abhorrent but he made this supreme sacrifice when he felt the country's interests demanded it.”

19 THE MALAVIYA FAMILY

Pandit Madan Mohan's father Pandit Vrajnath was well-known as a Sanskrit Scholar and it is not surpri-

sing that he has bequethed his legacy to the family. Panditji had great regard and reverence for his father. Mr. Shivnarayan Pande, a close associate of Panditji shows how eager he was to carry out the wishes of his father. His father had written a book सिद्धांतोत्तम whose publication was unavoidably detained. This greatly pained Pandit Malaviya. He, therefore, asked Mr. Pande to supervise the printing of the book himself, and thus expedite its publication. Thanks to Mr. Pande's efforts, the book was published within a very short time, and this greatly pleased Vrajnathji. Malaviyaji was himself very glad to see that the book was out, because Vrajnathji was ailing and would have been very sorry, if the book had not been printed in his life time. The Pandit had an educated and cultured wife. Her tolerance and large heart contributed to the growth of a cultured family. She co-operated with the Pandit in all the activities that he undertook. Though strictly orthodox and religious, the family took active part in social reforms. The Purdah for example was a great hindrance to the free growth of women. Mrs Malaviyaji, therefore, cast aside the Pardah and advised his daughtes and daughters-in-law to do the same. She attended public meetings and delivered lectures on important subjects. Malaviyaji is lucky in having educated sons and grand-sons. The names of Radhakant Malaviya and Govind Malaviya are well-known. Besides, the daughters in law are educated and know most of the fine arts like drawing and singing. Malaviyaji's is a happy domestic family of which everybody would be proud.

20 A MAN OF FIRM CONVICTIONS

Firmness of one's convictions is one of the many qualities that are a special feature of the Pandit's greatness

He forms his opinions after mature consideration, and sticks to them at all cost. He would not mind even if bigger people do not agree with his views. If he thought that he was right, he would boldly go on, propagate his views, and convince his erstwhile opponents that he was right. In this connection it would interest the readers to know how he dealt with men like Lala Ramcharandas who was held in high esteem by the people. The old Lala got very angry with him and told him that he did not know with whom he was talking. The young Pandit politely but firmly replied, 'I know that you are a very big man, and that I am a small man but that does not mean that I am wrong.' This firmness of Pandit Malaviya won over the old Lala, who thereafter became a close associate of Panditji, so much so that the Pandit got him subscribe Rs. One lac to the Hindu University Fund.

The Pandit is very often adversely criticised for his orthodoxy. But we must remember that his orthodoxy is due to firm convictions and is not of a type that would do the least harm even to his opponents.

Mr. Ishvar Saran rightly observes:—"But Malaviyaji's orthodoxy is sincere, deep-rooted, and unbending. For some, orthodoxy is a pose, for others, it is a device to gain popularity and for the vast majority, it is the surest way of avoiding conflict with people round about, but with Malaviyaji it is a matter of deep sentiment. He lives and moves in the atmosphere of orthodoxy and its breach means for him undesirable anguish. For the sake of his country, at his advanced age he had laid aside his cherished feelings'.

As pointed out above, his orthodoxy has been modified, or even laid aside, when the higher interests of

the country demanded the same. His going to England for the Round Table Conference is a clear illustration of his large heart. He subordinated his personal considerations to those of the country. His life is full of such examples, the most remarkable being that of his readiness to give certain rights to the Harijans. When Mahatma Gandhi went on fast, as a protest against the award of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Malaviyaji readily came forward and supported Gandhiji's stand that separate electorates would do a great harm to the Harijans. He went a step further and assured Mahatmaji that thereafter no one will be regarded as untouchable. It is interesting to know that the following resolution was adopted by the leaders under the chairmanship of Pandit Malaviya on the 25th of september, 1932:—

"The Conference resolves that henceforth, among Hindus no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth and that those who have been so regarded hitherto will have the same right as other Hindus, in regard to the use of public wells, public schools and other public institutions."

21. A STUDENT OF ARYAN CULTURE.

One who does not know that the main background of all the activities of Malaviyaji was his love for Aryan culture and Aryan tradition, will fail to appreciate the true purpose of his life and teaching. He was born at a time when people had a mania for English literature, English manners and English customs. Everything that was English was good; every thing else, useless. The Pandit's soul revolted against this philosophy of life that was sapping the very vitals of Aryan

Culture and Aryan Philosophy ever since the advent of the East India Company in India. The average educated Indian had little time to study its philosophy and culture. His English masters were past masters in the art of propaganda and had depicted everything Indian as black and everything English as good. It is no wonder India was losing her soul. It was at this moment that Panditji took an active interest in public affairs. He was the son of a learned Vyasa, and had studied Sanskrit at the feet of learned Pandits. The whole environment of the Brahmin Malaviya family was full of love and admiration for Sanskrit lore and learning. No wonder Malaviyaji became a close student of the ancient Aryan Civilization and did his best to give a new orientation to the life of the young men of India.

Malaviyaji believed that a thorough study of the ancient Sanskrit literature alone would give us a true view of the object of our life, and would dissipate the wrong notions that were corroding the hearts of our young men. The object of life was not money, but spiritual knowledge. As Mr. V. N. Mehta puts it, "Panditji acquired knowledge according to the standards of that period, but unlike the contemporary English educated Brahmin lawyers, he looked upon acquisition of wealth with the lofty scorn of a Tyagi, treating pelf as piffle (लोहवत्) like unto a clod of earth."

It was this noble philosophy of life that was the main spring of all his activities. He regretted that young Indians were not taught as they ought to have been. In order to remedy this fundamental defect in the system of education, he started the Hindu University, where

students are taught the principles of religion which would enable them to live their life nobly.

To quote Mr. V. N. Mehta again, "By the nineties of the last century, India was spiritually dead. Each party was treating the symptoms of the body politic and trying to throw the responsibility on some one else for the sorry pass, the country had come to. Mrs. Besant and the theosophists sowed at that time the seed of the tree that was to take under its shade the whole community for their spiritual uplift. Benares was asleep. The traditional sanctity of the holy place and the divine Ganges was still believed by the average citizen to be quite sufficient to atone for inactivity and sins of omission and commission. Panditji raised his trumpet tongued voice to call off sleep." The same critic proceeding further observes :—"In sketching the scope of the University, he laid emphasis on the revival of the Sanskrit lore in its widest comprehension for the rejuvenation of the spriit, and inculcation of Western Science, so that therefashioned geist (Mind) can ride astride the environment, and mould it to its will, instead of remaining the plaything of intractable and inscrutable tamasya nature."

He studied Sanskrit with a thoroughness that was at once the marvel and the envy of friends and foes alike. The crushing rejoinder that he gave to Pandit Bhimsen, the protagonist of the Arya Samaj, is only one illustration of the many victories that he won in the field of learning. His learned lecture on OMKAR is another. He had a love and a passion for Bhagwad Gita, which he would recite with an eloquence, and a devotion, that could not but captivate the audience. It was his deep study of the religious books of Hindus, and his grasp of

the fundamental problems of religion that won him the regard of men like Gandhiji who always revered him and addressed him as 'The Big Brother' बड़े भाई.

22. NOT AN ANTI-MUSLIM

Some critics have misunderstood the Pandit and have, therefore, gone to the length of calling him Anti-Muslim. His orthodoxy may partly be responsible for this adverse verdict. However, a careful study of his teachings and writings will show that the Pandit is a great friend of the Muslims. No doubt, he is uncompromising in his principles and is a devout Hindu. But his devotion to Hinduism has not made him narrow minded. He has drunk deep at the fountain of Aryan lore and imbibed all that is noble and good in Hinduism. Not only this, as a student of the different religions of the world, his outlook on life is broad and catholic. His interests are nationwide. Pandit Iswar Saran who is a close associate of Pandit Malaviya rightly observes that no one is more tolerant than Malaviyaji. His training, his teaching, his study, have all made the Pandit a large-hearted gentleman, who, though strong in his views, would always be ready to appreciate differing viewpoints, and would not even think of lowering or condemning others. Far less can we attribute to him a feeling of antipathy to any individual, sect or body. Pandit Ishvar Saran, who knew Malaviyaji so well puts the whole position very clearly in the following words:—

“All over the country Malaviyaji's public life is an object of love and adoration, but there is one misconception which I shall try to remove, if I can. On the Hindu-Mohomedan question, he and I are not in perfect

agreement, but I can truthfully assert that he is by no means anti-Mohomedan, as in certain quarters, he is supposed to be. I have had innumerable talks with him on the question but never has he betrayed even in private any trace of hostility to the Muslim community. By nature he is averse to wrong or injustice and he is loath to hurt even a fly, much less a human being or community. He desires to be just to Mohomedans, but unlike Mahatma Gandhi, he is not prepared to give them all that they want. He would be just and even a little generous to Mohomedans but not over-generous. He believes, I imagine, that the settlement of the Hindu-Mohomedan problem based on justice alone will be enduring; a compromise, I suspect, brought about by over-generosity on the part of the Hindus alone does not appeal to him. Whether his views are right or wrong is a different matter but to me it appears that to stigmatise him as anti-Mohomedan is to do him a great wrong. It is no doubt true that his first thoughts go to Hindus and Hinduism. If these facts and his upbringing and associations are kept in view, his attitude towards the Muslim community becomes thoroughly intelligible."

The above remarks coming as they do from a close associate who had had opportunities of studying Malaviyaji at close quarters and who himself is a well-known public worker of long standing, are an effective reply to the one-sided and hostile criticism levelled against the Pandit. It is the lot of many public workers who stick to their views to be misunderstood, but that does not affect their position. They know that when time has cooled down the passions of men, people will have the proper perspective and would revise their previous decision. Contemporary politics show how a man like Sardar Patel is misunderstood. He also has the misfortune of being

labelled anti-Muslim. But that is due to his uncompromising and firm stand on certain basic principles. He, like Panditji, has no doubt that time will show that he was right.

23. MALAVIYAJI AND STUDENTS

It is but natural that one who has dedicated his life to education should be very particular about the welfare of the students. He wants an all-sided development of the capacities of students. Physical development should accompany intellectual development. In the Benares Hindu University, adequate provision has been made for the physical education of young men and women attending the University. Once he asked some of the students whether they attended physical exercise classes and whether they went to the Shivaji Hall. When one of them said that he did exercises at his place, he was disappointed and observed:—“कसरत करो; कुस्ती लडना सीखो, यह दुबला पतला शरीर किस कामका ?”

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He also wanted that every student should have a thorough grounding in religion. Every young Indian should know the fundamental principles of religion. Besides, a knowledge of some of the delicate arts was also necessary. He desired that every one must know music. He suggested that a music society should be attached to each hostel. He himself had a great love for music.

Whenever students were in need, he would rush to their rescue. He would help them by offering free studentships and scholarships. Not only this; many needy students got private help from Malaviyaji. He was easily approachable to the students. They could see him at any odd time.

Once when he was going out, he saw a student waiting in the compound. He stopped his car, called the student and wrote out a recommendatory note required by him. Thus Malaviyaji was a great patriarch, a father who did his best to advance the interests of the students attending the Benares Hindu University.

24. MALAVIYAJI AND POLITICS

Malaviyaji was a follower of the Congress from its very inception. Even when he differed from the views of the leaders of the Congress, he did not leave the Congress. He held moderate views on a number of problems. Very often his very moderation would be a great help to the country. He would bridge the gulf between the two wings.

Not only this, the great regard in which he was held by the country as well as the Government helped him to bring together the Congress Leaders and the Government spokesmen. It was Malaviyaji who very often arranged the Viceroy's interview with Gandhiji and other leaders.

Whenever the country required his services, he would not shirk. In 1930-31 Gandhiji and other leaders were in jail and the country was passing through a great crisis. Malaviyaji at once came forward and offered his services. He joined the Working Committee and guided the deliberations of that body. His mature guidance, and wise counsel were of great use to the country at that time.

25. MALAVIYAJI'S DEATH

After 1936 Malaviyaji did not take active part in Politics. He lived a retired life in the premises of the Benares Hindu University. His health was far from

satisfactory. Yet he granted interviews to all that came to him. Pandit Ramnareshji Tripathi who spent a couple of months with this great Yogi tells us how Malaviyaji was interviewed by a number of people. Some came to have his Darshan, some to consult him, some for a discussion on a religious problem, some for financial aid and so on. From early morning till evening he was busy granting interviews. Pandit Ramnareshji observes :

इस अस्सी वर्षकी आयुमें सुबहसे लेकर रातके दस बजे तक नाना प्रकारके कार्योंमें मुरव्यतः विश्वविद्यालय और धर्मप्रचार संबंधी कार्योंमें ऐसा व्यस्त रहते हैं और मिलने झुलनेवालों और दर्शनार्थियोंसे घिरे रहते हैं कि मुझे उनसे बात करनेका नियमित समय कभी नहीं मिला ।

In 1938 Pandit Malaviyaji had the Kayakalpa performed on his body. He was kept in a specially prepared room for 45 days. This process was gone through with the object of improving his health. It appeared that Kayakalpa did him some good, though he never regained his former health.

He was slowly but steadily growing worse from 1941 onwards. In 1945-46 there were the disturbances in Bengal and elsewhere. This was followed by the notorious Noakhali events. The heart-rending news of bloodshed, murder and abduction produced a very undersirable effect upon his weak health and he breathed his last on the 12th of November, 1946.

26 MAHAMANA MALAVIYAJI

No individual in India barring Tagore and Gandhiji has commanded as much reverence as Malaviyaji. His scholarship, his selfless service to India extending to half

a century, his monumental work—the Benares Hindu University, his simplicity and austerity, not to talk of the many qualities of head and heart which Malaviyaji possessed have won the highest admiration from his countrymen.

Pandit Isvar Saran says, "It may be permissible to differ from his views and methods, but it is impossible to withhold respect for his loftiness of motive and singleness of purpose. His achievements are great, his endeavours have been greater, but greater than every thing else is his all consuming passion for service to India. Without exaggeration it may be said that Malaviyaji during his working moments lives for India and if, during sleep he has dreams, they must be about India. India fills his whole being, her love is his inspiration and her service is the only object of his life. There may, perhaps, be abler and more brilliant Indians but none can be more faithful, self sacrificing and devoted than he." One remarkable quality which the Pandit possesses in an eminent degree is his gentleness. The above writer says, Malaviyaji is gentleness itself. He further observes, "He is the type of a true Hindu gentleman, pride is foreign to his nature, and his good manners are not reserved for the rich, the influential or the powerful. When he was at the bar, he and I for sometime had our respective offices in the same house and thus he came to know my clerk. Once he invited me on the occasion of some festival to dinner. When I arrived at his house he asked me when my clerk would come. I told him that he had not been asked and Malaviyaji felt terribly disappointed. He had intended to invite him also but forgot to do so. Twice he expressed

his disappointment to me and when he came to the office the next day, he profusely apologised to the clerk".

His courtesy and humility are also well-known. The same writer refers to it in the following words:— 'He is courteous, kind and considerate beyond description. There is no pose about him. Everything that he does is perfectly genuine and sincere. He is ever ready to give credit to others for honesty. He may disagree with one's views, but it is difficult for him to question any one's motives. This generosity sometimes makes his judgment about men faulty. His estimate is more generous than just'. Proceeding further, the writer observes: "His sweetness and gentleness will captivate any heart. If one stays with him, he will put himself to no end of trouble and bother in making his guest feel perfectly comfortable and at home. Every one is welcome at all hours of the day and night. Even when he is ill and the doctors have issued an injunction that no one should see him, he will insist on receiving any one who calls on him." Once his son wanted to stop some of the visitors going to him and reading letters lying on his table. But Malaviyaji could not tolerate that. He said: "As long as I occupy this house, these poor people will come without let or hindrance".

Coupled with gentleness, courtesy and sweetness of manners, he possesses remarkable gift of speech. His style, his delivery, his lucid exposition of the cause advocated by him, all these produced deep impression upon the people, who were always attracted towards him. This explains the wonderful hold he had upon the people.

His thoroughness and exactness were rarely to be found elsewhere. Whenever he undertook a work, he

went deep into the problem, studied the question very carefully and then executed it with great ability. Besides, he was a man of firm convictions. He would reach a decision after mature consideration and then stick to it at all costs. He would not mind even if he was alone in the field.

Moreover, Malaviyaji's environments and culture had made him large-hearted and catholic. He would never take a narrow or parochial view. Mr. V. N. Mehta who also came in intimate contact with Malaviyaji says:— 'He is at peace with the world, which, transcending the limitations of time and space is 'one family to him' वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्. He is a citizen of the world and like Goethe could say 'If we find a place where we can rest with our belongings, a field to support us, a house to shelter us, have we not a father-land?' The study of English language and literature has made the educated Brahmin a cosmopolitan. Politically, he has been attempting to be what spiritually he already had become, a self-respecting citizen of a well-respected state"

This largeness of heart attracted all shades of people to the Pandit and even his opponents respected him. It may be said without fear of contradiction that he had no enemies at all. He was one of those leaders who were very popular.

Joined to these natural gifts, he had a well-defined aim and objective of life. He wanted the renaissance of Hindu culture and devoted the whole of his life towards the realization of that object. It was this love and passion for Hinduism that inspired him with the idea of a Hindu University. Many might have taken him for a dreamer and a visionary. But his industry, his tact, his

optimism and above all his faith enabled him to realise his dreams, and we find the Hindu University, his magnum opus, standing on the banks of the sacred Ganges, as a permanent memorial to his greatness, and "a crowning glory" of his life.

Malaviyaji's scholarship and learning are other remarkable factors that have contributed to his greatness. Though burning with patriotism of a high order, he is not merely a political leader. His study of the ancient Aryan culture, and his knowledge of the Hindu scriptures, particularly of the Bhagwadgita, made a profound impression upon the educated people who not only admired him but respected him, as they would respect a learned Guru.

To add to all these, he had a distinct personality that could not but evoke respect and reverence. His august figure, his broad forehead, his smiling and loving face—these contributed to his greatness. In the words of Mr. V. N. Mehta:—"But if this gift of birth, the facile facility to fascinate which, sometimes proves inconvenient and embarrassing, is disregarded, he stands as a block of granite in the midst of a mass of shale and conglomerate. His beautifully modelled body, every limb tingling with the pulsating harmony within, which has known the impulse without, the prolonged austerities of tapas, his loftiness of purpose, that in the words of Goethe speaking of Schiller, would disdain to think anything that was mean, his varied scholarship that puts him at ease among the scholar pilgrims to his scheme of learning, his universality of spirit that makes him a citizen of the world, and the least of a chauvenist and a foreigner, who that has known this Shankara of the twentieth century, the

tyagmurti at its highest, would fail to detect the Super-Brahmin in him? Like the peak of Kailasa, he stands, with his seventy winters, a towering spectacle, clothed in the effulgence of a mass of white, like the primeval lotus which nothing can sully, a beacon of hope often, a portent never."

27. THE THREE RISHIS

India is fortunate in having had three great Rishis in the twentieth century, each one of whom has made an immortal contribution towards making India stronger intellectually and spiritually. Each has lived a life of sacrifice and service for India. Each has lived so that others may live.

Gandhi, Tagore and Malaviya have performed great penances for the achievement of their object. They have worked assiduously for full fifty years for realisation of their goal. Though the method and the procedure adopted by them may be different, their aim and object was the same. All the three tried for uplifting and raising the level of the masses of India who suffered untold hardships during one hundred and fifty years of foreign rule. People of India had become poor mentally and spiritually. They were utterly ignorant of their ancient civilization and noble traditions. Foreign rule had brought them to the very depth of degradation. They were in need of some one who would awaken them from their slumber, lethargy and degradation.

This Himalayan work was undertaken by Gandhi, Tagore and Malaviya. Malaviyaiji saw this evil and laboured hard for Hindu Renaissance. Tagore accomplished his object in a different way. He was disgusted with

the system of education then prevalent in India and started model Educational Institutions where learned men from different countries of the world would meet and exchange views on different subjects. Gandhiji awakened the consciousness of the people of India and made them self-respecting citizens of an Independent Republic. His methods were unique in themselves. Non-violence was his sheet-anchor and it was this non-violence that ultimately brought Independence to India. It was an achievement for which every body would be proud. India is unique in the history of the world for having obtained freedom without warfare and bloodshed. The Hindu University of Benares, the pet child of Malaviyaji, has laid deep foundations for the growth and expanse of every thing that is noble. It may, however, be borne in mind that it is not a place of narrow-minded or sectarian communalism. Broad principles of ethics and morality are taught so that India may produce young men and women, well-versed in noble traditions, so that they would make India a nation that will be respected throughout the world. Tagore's travels, his literary works, and his Shanti Niketan and Vishwa Bharati spread India's fame in the different parts of the world and brought international recognition and glory to India. Gandhiji revolutionized the whole concept of man, awakened India from deep slumber and taught lessons of love and peace to mankind.

India and the world are grateful to these three noble souls of India, who have wonderful and everlasting achievements to their credit. India is proud of them and will cherish their memory for ever.

In these days of war and turmoil, men's mind and vision are likely to be blurred and there is every probability of their being overtaken by a sense of frustration

and defeatism. But these three stars will ever serve as a beacon light to them. Men in their disappointment and sorrow will be well-advised to look up to these three stars, who will be their friend, philosopher and guide. Their light will remove men's darkness and show them the path of light and life.

It is up to young men and women of India to rise to the occasion and be worthy citizens of India. We, who have received such immortal legacy from these stalwart forefathers need have no fear, and no doubt about our future. Let us shake off doubts and uncertainties, let us have faith in our future, let us have faith and robust optimism about future. A nation that has produced these great seers of immortal renown, has no reason to feel dissatisfied. Its future is great ; no power in the world can stop it. Only let the young men and women follow the path chalked out by these Rishis and India is sure to achieve a position, worthy of its ancient past.

APPENDIX

1. Born at Allahabad-1861.
2. Started the Hindu Samaj at Prayag-1880.
3. Graduated-1884.
4. Started career as a teacher on Rs. 40/- per month-1885.
5. Delivered an eloquent address at the second session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta-1886.
6. Began practising as a lawyer-1892.
7. Elected Vice-Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality-1901.
8. Elected member of the Provincial Legislative Council-1903.
9. Prepared a scheme for a Hindu University-1904.
10. Started propaganda for Swadeshi-1907.
11. Elected to the Central Council-1909.
12. Protested against the Press Act-1909.
13. President of the Indian National Congress-1909
14. The Imperial Legislative Council passed the bill for the Hindu University-1915.
15. Foundation of the Hindu University at Benares 1916.
16. Protested against the Rowlatt Bills-1918.
17. Presided at the Indian National Congress-1918.
18. Presided at the Annual Session of the Hindu Mahasabha-1923.
19. Gave मंत्रदीक्षा to the untouchables in Calcutta-1928.

20. Efforts for a Round Table Conference-1929.
21. Arrested-1930.
22. Went to London to attend the Round Table Conference-1931.
23. Gave मंत्रदीक्षा to the untouchables at Benares-1936.
24. Had the कायाकल्प operation performed-1938.
25. Died-1946.

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CORRECTIONS

<i>Page</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct.</i>
8	घनिष्ठ	घनिष्ठ
10	Improper	Imprompter
16	Meetingol	Meetings
17	Monstron	Monstrous
29	कहेता हुं	कहता हूँ
36	Splindid	Splendid
36	He had	He and I
37	Parliment	Parliament
44	Daughtes	Daughters
48	Tongud	Tongued
48	Spriit	Spirit

